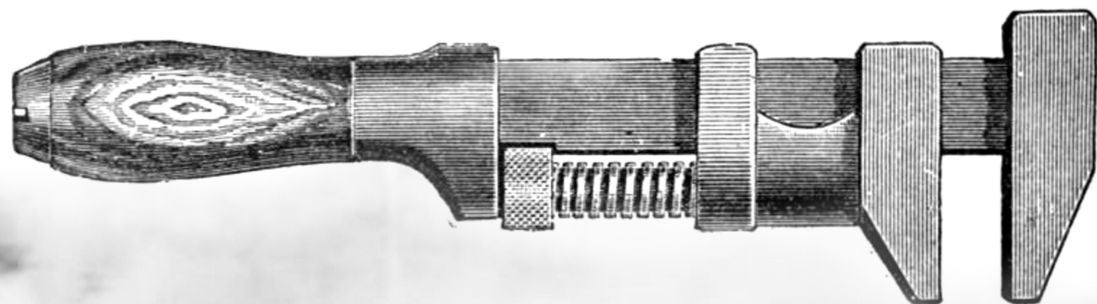


MONKEY WRENCH DOWNUNDER

ISSUE TWO



Energy Crisis - Ecological Crisis
Capitalist Crisis - Social War

The Monkeywrench Downunder – Part 2 of 4

**energy crises -- social war -- ecological-crises -
capitalist crisis**



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Melbourne, Australia: Captain Cooks Cottage Trashed With Paint for Invasion Day

Sun, 01/27/2013 - 23:35 | Anonymous

The monuments and museums that fill this dead city only enrage us.

They impose on public space the supplanting societies creation myth.

The creation myth of Australian society is that rather than looting, murdering, and displacing the original inhabitants, the Europeans were bringing a higher order of civilisation, economic organisation and religion to savage lands.

The denial of this brutal and revolting history is nowhere more evident than on the 25th of January, the celebration of Australia Day – the date of invasion.

This is why we trashed the absurd shrine to genocide, Captain Cooks Cottage, with paint.

The Australian state has constructed a deceitful myth of consensus. That we have all signed some kind of social contract to be good Australian citizens. Well fuck that we don't want your bourgeois morality or your so called “civilisation”.

We refuse to quietly submit and bow our heads to this commodified life of wage slavery.

We must act on our own behalf, directly and without mediation.

We must break with any group that seeks to limit the struggle, to negotiate, or to reconcile with the state or capital.

We must abandon the concept of appealing to the “justice” of the coloniser and instead embark on a direct path of destruction of the existing order and a concrete practice of solidarity.

**SOLIDARITY TO THE ORIGINAL PEOPLES OF THIS LAND FIGHTING BACK
FROM MUTITJULU, TO REDFERN, FITZROY, PALM ISLAND, AND
EVERYWHERE**

DESTROY THE COLONIAL SYSTEM THAT OPPRESSES US ALL

Anarchists attack Australia

Sun, 01/27/2013 - Anon

In the early hours of January 26th we tipped a bucket of paint on a statue celebrating the First Fleet in Brighton Le Sands, Botany Bay.

We later threw numerous paint bombs at a massive statue of James Cook in Hyde Park, who according the plaque on the monument "discovered this territory in 1770".

We sprayed stencils reading: "**FUCK AUSSIE PRIDE**", "**DESTROY COLONIAL AUSTRALIA**" & "**PROUDLY UNAUSTRIAN**" throughout the city, Redfern, Newtown, Marrickville, Sydenham and at Bicentennial Park and Carss Park, where 'Australia Day' celebrations were to take place.

We paint bombed the Tempe office the Australia First Party, a small fascist sect which has managed to get one racist elected to the Penrith council.

We dropped 7 banners across Sydney, five from walkway bridges and two from an empty warehouse on a busy intersection. They read:

ALWAYS WAS, ALWAYS WILL BE ABORIGINAL LAND

DECOLONISATION NOT RECONCILIATION

KILL THE COLONISER IN YOUR HEAD

225 YEARS OF OCCUPATION, 225 YEARS OF RESISTANCE

FROM PAPUA TO PALESTINE, GADIGAL TO WALLMAPU, SOLIDARITY WITH
INDIGENOUS STRUGGLES.

And an Aboriginal Flag banner.

Around midday a few of us dropped a massive banner reading FUCK THE FIRST FLEET from a walkway above Circular Quay in Sydney Harbour, where thousands had gathered to watch city organised events, including a military aircraft show. A few hundred leaflets were thrown from the walkway which soon attracted a large police response.

Throughout the night we removed council banners promoting Australia Day events and set about capturing as many Australian flags as possible. Large and small flags were taken from park flagpoles, shopfronts, fences, yards, cars and later burnt.

We are completely opposed to nationalist celebration commemorating the date of invasion by the First Fleet. The fleet was comprised of eleven prison vessels, sent to establish a colony on the east coast to displace Britain's criminalised poor and rebellious. The colony introduced the paradigm of police, prisons and private property to a territory where land was communal, communities settled disputes and meted out punishment without recourse to incarceration or a specialised armed force constantly patrolling and surveilling everyone's behaviour.

This process of conquest and control has been consistently opposed and resisted by Aboriginal fighters, rebellious convicts, poor settlers and migrants. Despite constant claims to the contrary, struggle against this colonial state and its laws has not been defeated. From bushrangers to bank robbers resistance has continued through daily attacks against property by thousands of mostly young rebels.

Australian colonialism is not a thing of the past. It is continued and reproduced every day through government policies such as the NT intervention, the massive incarceration rate of indigenous youths and Australian military action in the South Pacific and Afghanistan. It is reproduced and legitimised through the daily activity of everyone on this

territory who upholds property rights and recognise the government's claim to this territory.

Although nationalist and militarist holidays such as Australia, ANZAC and Remembrance Day are entirely symbolic, they are intended to foster a proud colonialist mentality and unity around the state. We encourage disruption and sabotage of any celebration of colonial history.

We extend a wave of solidarity to indigenous resistance struggles around the world. We wish strength to the Papua freedom fighters, resisting Indonesian military occupation, Mapuche communities battling the Chilean state and landowners for control of their native lands, indigenous peoples in Bolivia fighting against a massive highway through their territory. Indigenous peoples in Brazil who've been resisting the Belo Monte Dam for decades, and the first nation peoples in Canada currently mobilising through the inspiring Idle no more campaign.

We are against any process of reconciliation between indigenous and non indigenous Australians until the structures of colonialism have been destroyed.

Self-Determination and Self-Defense in Cherán, Michoacán

Published on January 4, 2013 in Michoacán - Simòn Sedillo

On December 11, 2012, the US Justice Department announced that banking giant HSBC was immune from prosecution despite overwhelming evidence that they consistently failed to implement controls against money-laundering. Assistant attorney general Lanny Breuer said: "Had the US authorities decided to press criminal charges, HSBC would almost certainly have lost its banking license in the US, the future of the institution would have been under threat and the entire banking system would have been destabilized."

The entire banking system would have been destabilized?

The Department of Justice opted rather to charge HSBC a record-breaking 1.9 billion dollar fine, and ordered the bank's activities monitored for five years. The 1.9 billion is equivalent to five weeks' worth of HSBC earnings, in other words, a drop in the bucket. The saddest part of the story in the mainstream media, is the focus on money laundered and money fined, as opposed to lives lost and crime legitimized in one of the most grotesque admissions of complicity with organized crime in the so-called war on drugs. Basically what was announced to the world by the US Justice Department was that the money ran too thick, and the criminals were too powerful. The global economic impact of prosecuting a bank where the dirty money has been going, was too dangerous to risk. "Sorry kids, but we guess the bad guys win."

In Cheran, Michoacan, Mexico the news of HSBC's immunity from criminal prosecution and US sanctions comes as no surprise. Organized crime has been prevalent in the community since 2000. After a 2008 mayoral race that left a PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) candidate in office, illicit activity increased substantially. The community learned that organized crime is an integral part of local politics and economics everywhere. Cheran is a beautiful small indigenous Purepecha mountain community surrounded by precious forests, that knows the true cost of those profits laundered. Immediately after the 2008 mayoral race the community began experiencing the devastating effects of dog eat dog capitalism of which organized crime is only another part.

The illegal logging industry began to ravage the community's most precious forests, which have been traditionally respected as a spiritual connection by the Indigenous Purepecha people to their territory. The logging began to look a lot more like pillaging and when community members began to attempt to defend their forests, they were met with a real life nightmare: the loggers were not only aided and protected by government agencies and local police, the entire logging operation was being coordinated by members of a major organized crime syndicate. [To this day I am told by community members not to name the actual syndicate in anything I write or say, or risk an almost certain death.]

The first community members who began to defend their forest were simply and quickly assassinated. From 2008-2011 the situation only became worse. Criminals charged protection to run even a small business in the community of Cheran. The forest was raped and terror reigned as anyone felt at risk. The city would become a ghost town by sunset. This is a reality confronted by too many communities in Mexico every day.

Murders, disappearances, kidnappings, the criminal amounts of illegal logging and the reign of terror came to a head on the early morning of April 15th, 2011. A group of women had begun quietly organizing in the days before an action to bring the ravaging of their town to a halt. On April 15th, with children and youth at their sides, the women rose up and attempted to detain loggers traveling through town. The loggers tried to run the women over and in response the community reacted as a whole, and began burning the loggers' vehicles and began detaining the loggers themselves. It is at this point that the community recognized the complicity of the local police when it was police officers who guided organized crime thugs to the place where the loggers were being held, in an attempt to violently release them. The community erected "fogatas" or bonfire barricades throughout town in order to prevent violence against community members. Within days the community decided that it no longer trusted any politicians from any political party or any of the local and state police. They began to organize for self-determination and self-defense and chose to return to their traditional Purepecha forms of self governance.

A general council of community elders was elected and commissions were formed in order to carry out the community's logistical, social, economic, and political needs. Community members simply say that they referred to their history and referred to their elders in order to return to the way the community was organized before political parties, police, and organized crime existed. The general council is legally recognized as the governing body of Cheran, Michoacan today.

The community has maintained that they only have three demands: safety, justice, and the reforestation of their territory. They have actively been

reforesting the entire region and take that aspect of their struggle very seriously, and remind us that for them protecting the forest is both a traditional and a spiritual obligation. Cheran does not believe that anybody will ever be able to bring them justice for their dead, disappeared, and displaced as a result of the conflict, nor do they expect anyone in power to understand the justice they seek for the forest. Today Cheran knows that justice is something that they will have to take care of obtaining on their own from now on. When it comes to safety, the world is able to see what it looks like for a community to take responsibility for its own safety through traditional indigenous forms of self governance and self-defense.

Shortly after the 2011 uprising began, community members state that the local politicians and the police simply exiled themselves in fear from the community, warranting no need to run them out of town. Community members took the local government offices, took police trucks, took the polices' weapons, and put them all to use. Historically, Cheran had traditionally been "policed" or defended by members from the community. In a voluntary rotation members from each of the four "barrios" or neighborhoods would patrol the community for self-defense in what is known as the "community ronda." After the uprising the general council made a call out for volunteers to participate in the community "ronda", or community guard. Community members maintain that police are imposed by the government, but the "ronda" is a traditional way in which community members protect themselves and their community. Today the "ronda" is separated into two parts. The "ronda comunitaria" which is responsible for patrolling and protecting the community from within its borders and the "guardabosques" or forest defenders, which patrol the outskirts of town and deep into the forests in order to protect community members living in those more rural areas and in order to protect the forest itself.

Cheran is not the first community in Mexico to return to their traditional means of community self-defense, nor is it the first place in the state of Michoacan, nor in the indigenous Purepecha region. Other communities have engaged in similar practices of self governance and self-defense, and little by

little more and more communities are seeing traditional self governance and self-defense as a viable alternative to corrupt politics and submission to organized crime. Recently council members from Nurio, Michoacan, a larger community and long time practitioner of self governance and self-defense, suggested that the entire Purepecha region should begin to organize a regional “ronda” that could potentially coordinate self-defense patrols on a regional level for the indigenous Purepecha people living throughout the state of Michoacan.

It is hard not to throw your hands up in the air in resignation when you hear about criminals such as HSBC being granted immunity from prosecution and sanctions, but it is even harder not to throw a fist in the air when you see indigenous Purepechas successfully overcoming organized crime, corrupt politicians, and big business by establishing models for self-determination and self-defense, on a community level.

Bangka Islanders Seize Mining Company's Ship

Thursday, August 16, 2012

PT Mikro Metal Perdana's iron ore mining activities continue to be met with resistance from the Bangka islanders of Likupang District, North Minahasa Regency, North Sulawesi. Their latest act of resistance was to sequester a ship belonging to the company, which has loaded with machines which would be used for mining. The action commenced on August 4th and was still continuing when this article was written on August 12th. The people are resolute that they will not end their action until mining activities are decisively halted.

source: Negasi

Workers and Wilderness By Franklin Rosemont - Industrial Worker, May 1988

There is no other guiding light than that which is to be found in nature.-Lautremont

Bourgeois ideology inherited from its Judeo-Christian forerunners a deep hatred of wilderness and, by extension, hatred and fear of all wild beings and things. Everyone knows that capitalism entered the world dripping with blood and gore, and that its few hundred years of domination have been the bloodiest and goriest in all human history. Its champions, however have always liked to present themselves as an eminently civilizing force, bringing Law'n'Order and Industry not only to societies variously described as savage, primitive, backward and underdeveloped, but also to remote regions previously held to be uninhabitable by humankind.

For those who are addicted to it, civilization is regarded as a universally good thing, a blessed condition of peace, prosperity and social harmony (it is generally conceded, however, that the reality falls somewhat short of this ideal). Above all, capitalist civilization has viewed itself as the deadly enemy of wilderness, which is portrayed as an essentially evil condition of absolute violence: the total war of all against each and each against all. As it happens, the exact opposite is closer to the truth, but civilization is founded on lies and more lies, and especially Big Lies.

The drama of bloody repression disguised as progress is the history of the New World. The puritans, whose devotion to Capital equaled if not exceeded their devotion to Christ (for most of them there was probably very little difference between the two, saw their "errand in the wilderness" as a mandate to civilize a continent that was, in their eyes, uninhabited--or at best, inhabited only by unimportant, dispensable heathen, if not by outright minions of Satan. massacre and genocide were the methods by which these typically Christian capitalists introduced the amenities of civilized life to the original human inhabitants of North and South America.

The non-human inhabitants fared no better over the years. The last passenger pigeon, whose immense flocks numbering billions once darkened the skies for days at a time, died in a zoo in 1914. The bison herds had been decimated long before that. No more does the piercing cry of the ivory-billed woodpecker ring through the boundless forests, for the forests have been so cut to pieces that ivory-bills can no longer live in them. A hundred and fifty

years ago the great midwestern prairies were majestic oceans of wild grasses and flowers stretching as far as the eye could see. Where are they now? Gone, one and all: annihilated by the juggernaut of Progress and Profits.

It was a hell of a price to pay for indoor plumbing, plastic slipcovers and a medicine cabinet full of Valium.

BLOCKS AND SCISSORBILLS

At the latest expression of the ancient affliction of patriarchy, the authoritarian and exploitative structures of capitalist civilization exacerbate and synthesize all earlier forms of social control, while uncontrolled and seemingly uncontrollable technological development constantly creates new ones undreamed of in the relatively tranquil times of Genghis Kahn or Attila the Hun.

Underlying the workers' day-today struggle against Capital in our time is a complex of social, sexual, and psychological repression evolved over many thousands of years of domination and domestication. the worker who will not join a union; the worker who scabs; the Mr. Block who loves the boss and hates radicals; the scissorbill who loves the flag and hates foreigners; the wage-slave who channels his discontent against his fellow wage-slaves rather than against the system that creates the discontent: This is a worker who is, more than anything else, repressed. So submissive is he to his own slavery that he has no consciousness of it. He is the worker exactly as the boss wants him to be: oblivious to his own real interests, opposed to his own happiness, hostile to those he should befriend; afraid of his class, afraid of himself, above all afraid of freedom and real life. Such workers, and they are hardly an inconsiderable portion of the working class, appear to be thoroughly domesticated--human sheep fighting their way to the slaughter. The question is: What are we going to do about it?

To help us find the answer, we should first ask ourselves: How did this domestication occur, historically? To what extent is it irreversible? And

finally, are there any new developments that might alter the existing balance of force in the direction of freedom?

LOOKING BACKWARD

The origins of human domestication are buried deep in the quagmires of prehistory, but appear to be traceable to the beginnings of agriculture, with stages of its consolidation marked by the development of the family, private property, religion, the State and other institutions of social control.

Ancient as it is, however, the process of domestication is never really complete; it must be taken up anew with each generation and indeed with every individual. Children get called "savages," "wild Indians," and "animals" because they have not yet sunk to the level of adult domestication. Women, racial and ethnic minorities and above all working people are also subject to such revealing epithets from the self-appointed watchdogs of what Wobbly philosopher T-Bone Slim called "civilinsanity."

Church, school, law, the police and military: All these fetters exist to uphold the existing inequality--to safeguard the privileges of an exploiting minority while seeing to it that the enslaved majority adjusts to their slavery. Of course, implicitly or explicitly, the "adjustment" takes place at gun point: All slavery is maintained by coercion.

Ideologically, however, such adjustment is always insecure, at best. The producing class, the workers--and especially the most exploited, lowest paid workers--are never as contaminated by the agencies of accommodation as the bosses and bureaucrats would like them to be. Of all sectors of society the working class is notoriously the least afflicted with official miseducated or religious or political illusions. Workers may have a lot to learn, but they have much less to unlearn than most, and in matters of radical social change, that's a real advantage.

Moreover, the workers' obvious exploitation by the capitalists, who return to them in wages only a minute fraction of the wealth that they produce,

naturally places them in opposition to the dominant, parasitical class that produces nothing but waste and devastation.

Historically, the working class was born wild, and everything it has accomplished for its own good and for the good of the Earth has been thanks to the fact that, at various times, it has renewed this wildness. Working-class history is the history of riots, tumults, strikes, street-fights, insurrections and revolutions that consciously or unconsciously presage a sweeping worldwide social transformation that would eliminate exploitation, establish new social relations based on mutual aid and production for use instead of profit, and therefore make life livable for all.

All the great moments in the still-unfolding saga of the struggle for working-class emancipation--from the glorious machine-smashing Luddites in the early days of the "Industrial Revolution," through the Paris Commune of 1871, the rise of the Haymarket Anarchists in [the] 1880s [in] Chicago, the countless battles of the IWW, the Mexican Revolution of 1910, the Russian Revolution of 1917, the sitdown-strike wave all over the US in the 1930s, the Spanish Revolution of 1936, the 1956 Hungarian Revolution against the state-capitalist bureaucracy, the Detroit Insurrection of 1967 and the May '68 General Strike in France, up to the titanic class wars of our own time, from Gdansk to Johannesburg, from West Virginia to Grenada, from Lordstown to Managua--reflect this fundamental global aspiration for a cooperative, free society, without competition, profiteering, war discrimination, bureaucracy, pollution and all the other vile by-products of declining capitalism's industrial depravity.

These outbreaks of revolt are not the work of timid or docile. And it is not without significance that the most characteristic expressions of rank-and-file workers' insurgency in the US in recent years have been the unofficial and illegal strikes known as wildcats.

What becomes of the Blocks and scissorbills in these rebellious manifestations? The evidence suggests that only an insignificant minority of actually go to the side of counter-revolution. Some will remain more or less

passive throughout the turmoil, but many more will experience a real change in themselves and will take an active part in the revolt--further proof that their domestication consists primarily of ideological veneer, that it is not all "instinctive," and that revolutionary activity is an excellent cure. Truly it has been said that workers learn more in a week of revolution than in a decade of ordinary life.

ARE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY?

Obituaries for the revolutionary potentiality of the American working class are as plentiful these days as politicians' promises, and the substance of them all is the same old hot air. Most laws exist to protect private property--not your handful of personal belongings or mine, and not even the property of the corner grocer's, but rather the big profit-producing property of bloodthirsty, land-raping corporations. And just who, one might ask, is all this property being protected against?

If the working class is not still a revolutionary class, retaining not only its material interest in overturning the existing state of affairs but also the ability, as a class, to do so--then what could possibly be the purpose of the US Labor Department, the National Labor Relations Board, all those multimillion-dollar union-busting consulting firms, "red-squads," and "right-to-work" [for less] outfits? Why would all those senators and congresspersons keep so busy devising still more laws to make it still more difficult for working people to exercise their democratic rights on the job and the picketline? And why would hoodlums such as the KKK and neo-nazis spend so much of their time and energies on anti-labor terrorism?

The real purposes of these repressive agencies is as obvious as the President's lies: They are there to keep working men and women deceived, divided and domesticated.

Since the enactment of the Taft-Hartly "slave labor law" in 1947 the corporations and their obedient governmental agencies have had the upper hand in American class struggles. Of course there have been mighty

upheavals all along, but with a few notable exceptions--some major coal strikes, the 1970 postal workers' strike and PATCO, for examples--most of these tended to be local or regional, and unable to turn the tide.

The high point of post-World-War-II radical labor resurgence came between 1968 and 1970, when increasing numbers of rank-and-file workers, inspired by civil rights, antiwar, student, women's and environmental agitation, began not only to support these other struggles but also to add New Left demands to their own demands for change in the workplace. The specter of widespread labor revolt linked to other protest movements of the dispossessed terrified the powers-that-be, and unfortunately neither labor's rank and file nor the New Left were sufficiently prepared, organizationally or otherwise, to withstand the repression that followed. The severest government crackdown on dissidents since the notorious Palmer Raids of 1919 left this promising new movement a shambles.

THE CALL OF THE WILD Many new signs on the horizon today point to the possibility of a vastly larger and more enduring resurgence of radical labor that could dramatically transform the perspectives for revolutionary social change in the near future.

For one thing, the official "Labor" movement--the corrupt bureaucratic sham that someone once called the AFL-CIA--is at the lowest ebb of its 102-year history. Never has it been so weak, so morally and intellectually bankrupt, and so despised by its own members. Future P-9-type breakaways are inevitable, and sooner or later some of the breakaways will join together and think about building a new labor movement worthy of the name.

Moreover, the radical movements of the 1960s may have been crushed by the State, but their ideas--most of them new expressions of age-old notions of freedom, equality and solidarity--have continued to find their way to the hearts and minds of millions, including millions of young working men and women.

The American workers' longstanding boycott of elections (the percentage of working people who vote has declined with each election for over forty years) suggests that, as the new radicalism gains ground, direct action will be its preferred way of doing things. Don't forget that the most effective direct-action tactics--sitdowns, sit-ins, slowdowns, blockades, seizures of buildings, etc.--were developed by workers in the factories fields, mines and mills.

But the truly new and decisive factor in the coming labor revolt returns us to our point of departure and is, in fact, the oldest thing in the world: wilderness. Steadily over the past couple of decades a new consciousness of wilderness, of the urgency of wilderness, has inspired millions and become a real force for social transformation. the fusion of this new, radical consciousness with the emerging rebellion of workers at the point of production should mark the grandest epoch in the history of labor, and the real beginning of the cooperative commonwealth at last.

This process will play havoc with many existing habits and prejudices, and will bring forth changes infinitely more far-reaching than, for example, the turn from craft unionism to industrial unionism. But it should also promote the definitive resolution of old, paralyzing contradictions--between "ultimate goal," for example, and "immediate demands."

As long as the working class participates in the bourgeois exploitation of the natural world, its own consciousness must remain fragmented and at war with itself. As working men and women increasingly come to experience wilderness and to identify themselves with it, they will be much better able not only to defend themselves, but also to actualize their deepest aspirations for their actions will be in harmony with their real interests and the interests of the Earth. In this sense, revolutionary activity and direct wilderness experience go hand in hand, and together are the perfect antidote for all the poisons of domestication.

This much is certain: Working-class emancipation--the lever of all human emancipation--is no longer thinkable without the emancipation of Nature.

Environmental/ecological demands are no longer secondary but central to workers' struggle in our time.

As wilderness is the indispensable key to an ecologically balanced planet, wilderness restoration must become a major demand of the working-class movement.

The struggle for wilderness is also a struggle against Capital, and the renewal of wilderness contributes to the struggle for the abolition of wage-slavery.

Workers still have nothing to lose but their chains. Without wilderness, we would have no world to win. Workers of the world, be wild! Ecology.iww.org

Ecuador: Building a Good Life - Sumak Kawsay

Written by Alberto Acosta, Translation by Christina Hewitt

After renewed criticism on the issue of development, Latin America finds itself going through an interesting process of rediscovery with its roots. On the one hand, the historical tradition of elaborate critical analysis that was previously at risk of being forgotten has not been lost and has made a recovery. On the other hand, new concepts have flourished, especially ideas that come from the ancient Abya Yala people, which have then merged with concepts from other parts of the planet. While a good part of conventional thought on development and even most current criticism are based on a Western understanding of Modernity, the most recent Latin American proposals tend to veer away from those limitations.

Essentially, these proposals recapture key issues that spring from the knowledge of the ancient peoples. The Constitution of Ecuador and Bolivia are the most well-known in their reflection of these ideas; the first presents the idea of “Good Living” or Sumak Kawsay (in Quechua), and the second, “Living Well” or Suma Qamaña (in Aymara). Similar notions (although, not the same) exist in other indigenous cultures, such as the Mapuche in Chile,

the Guaraní in Bolivia and Paraguay, the Kuna in Panama, the Achuar in the Ecuadorian Amazon, and in the Mayan tradition in Guatemala and Chiapas (Mexico), among others.

As well as the Abya-Yala world view, there are many other parts of the planet that have, in their philosophical thinking, close approximations to the search for Good Living from a philosophical, inclusive way of thinking. Sumak Kawsay as a culture of life has been acknowledged and practiced, in various ways and under different pseudonyms, in different periods of the distinct regions of Mother Earth. On the other hand, although it is considered one of the pillars of the questionable Western civilization, in this collective effort to rebuild/build a jigsaw of elements that advocate for new ways of organizing life, even elements of Aristotle's "good life" can be recovered.

Good Living, at the beginning of the 21st Century, is therefore not an original nor new political idea in the Andean countries. Nor are the communities and indigenous people of Abya-Yala the only ones to propose such ideas. Good Living is part of an expansive search for alternative ways of living in the thick of Humanity's fight for emancipation and life.

A Proposal from the World's Periphery

Good Living, as the sum of actions conducive to a certain way of life that remains mostly resistant to the long colonial occupation and the effects of its aftermath, is still a valid way of living in many of the indigenous communities that have not been totally absorbed by capitalist modernity or have managed to remain on its margins. Shared knowledge and wisdom within the community, which is what counts, forms the basis from which to imagine and conceive different worlds as a path to change.

In any case, it will always be difficult to prove what ancient knowledge is and what it represents, as this knowledge may not actually be ancient and there is no way of proving it. Cultures are so inherently heterogeneous that it can be unfair to talk about "our" culture as proof of the correctness of

one's statement. In addition, the history of humanity is the history of cultural exchange, and this can also be applied to Latin American indigenous communities. Either way, it is imperative to recover the indigenous communities' practices and way of life, as they exist now, without idealizing them.

The one thing that really stands out about these alternative proposals is that they have emerged from traditionally marginalized groups of people. They invite us to uproot various concepts that have assumed an uncontested status, and called us to question the homogenizing and all-encompassing capitalist structure.

They are the voices of other men and women that from their otherness demand that Good Living be built and their ability to put forward ideas be recognized.

An Alternative to Development

Since Good Living emerged from non-capitalist indigenous roots, it proposes a vision of the world that is different from Western ideas of hegemonic civilization. It breaks away from anthropocentric capitalist logic based on the philosophy of a dominant civilization, as well as the various "real" socialisms, and their intrinsic contradictions, that have existed until now.

The idea of development that emerged from Western ideas of progress and the development of civilization established a complex series of dichotomies based on dominance: developed-developing, advanced-backward, superior-inferior, centre-periphery, first world-third world...and so the old savage-civilized dichotomy gained new force and was violently introduced into our Abya-Yala more than five centuries ago with the European conquest.

In the context of global forecasts, the dominant structure of civilization today is realized. The institutionalization of the superior-inferior dichotomy led to the emergence of multiple forms of coloniality as ways of justifying and legitimizing inequality: the coloniality of power expressed in the

maintenance of the north-south power divide; the coloniality of knowledge that imposes homogenizing Western-thinking with the intention of overriding popular-thinking; the coloniality of being that represses the otherness of the minorities, and, the coloniality of having that attempts to reduce Good Living to consumerism and the belief that those who have more are superior to those who have less.

Such standards of coloniality, valid even in our lifetime, are not just a memory from the past: as an important part of Modernity and Enlightenment, they explain how the world today is organized.

More specifically, all around the world, societies were and still are being reorganized in order to adapt to “development”. Development became humanity’s common destiny: a non-negotiable obligation. To achieve it, for example, the destruction of society and nature is accepted in the name of extractivist accumulation, such as large-scale mining, that was inherited from the colony, even though it reinforces dependency on the external market and global capital.

When the problems started to blunt our faith in development, we began to look for alternatives; we added different endings to distinguish them from what made us uncomfortable, but we carried on along the same lines: economic development, social development, local development, rural development, sustainable development, eco-development, development at a human scale, endogenous development, development with gender-equality, co-development...ultimately, development. Fortunately, even in countries in the Northern-hemisphere, more and more dissatisfied and indignant people are working towards “degrowth” and are searching for other ways of living based on reuniting human beings and Nature.

We know that Good Living is different from development. It is not about applying a set of policies, mechanisms and indicators to emerge from “underdevelopment” and reach that much desired “developed” state. It is a useless task. Let us look at the last few decades: almost all countries in the

world have tried to follow the supposed path. How many have achieved it? Very few, assuming the aim is development.

After five centuries of horror and mistakes committed in the name of progress - and development in the last six decades - it is clear that the issue is not one of simply accepting one path or another. The path to development is not the main problem. The difficulty lies in the concept of development.

The world, in general, lives in a “badly developed” state, including industrialized countries. In other words, lifestyle should act as a reference point. Those countries are also the main catalysts of climate change. For the first time in the history of humanity, waste production - the result of all energy conversion and processed material - exceeded the Earth’s capacity to assimilate and recycle, and the speed at which we extracted resources began to exceed production time, putting the reproduction of life at risk. Environmental collapse exposes the diseased relationship between capitalist society and Nature and uncovers the “badly developed” state of the contemporary global system.

In short, the traditional idea of progress based on productivity and one-dimensional development must be urgently dissolved, especially the “mechanistic” approach to economic growth as well as its many other synonyms. However, it is not only about dissolving these ideas; a different approach is necessary, and one that is richer in content and difficulties.

Let us remember that, often, at the knowledge base of indigenous peoples, the concept of development does not exist, which means that in many cases the idea is rejected. To conceive life as a lineal process that establishes an anterior and posterior state, namely developing and developed - a dichotomy that people must move through in order to achieve a state of well being, as occurs in the Western world - does not exist. Nor does the concept of rich and poor, determined by the accumulation or lack of material possessions, exist.

Good Living appears, then, as a category in permanent construction and reproduction. In terms of a holistic approach, one must understand the diversity of elements that condition humans' thoughts and actions and contribute to the search for Good Living, such as knowledge, codes of ethical and spiritual conduct in relation to our surroundings, human values, and the vision of the future, among others. Good Living, definitively, occupies a central position in indigenous societies' philosophy of life.

In our era, this ancestral conception of life resembles other world views that try to break away from capitalism (popular environmentalism, Marxism, feminism, etc.). They also emerge from the oppressed and are strengthened by this inclusive perspective.

Rediscovering Nature

Good Living is based on overcoming two dichotomies that have been perversely exacerbated by modernity: human dominance over Nature on the one hand, and exploitation between humans on the other (North-South, city-country, and in general the dominance of hegemonic groups over the majority of exploited people).

Rather than maintaining a separation between Nature and human beings; rather than sustaining a civilization that endangers life, our task becomes one of rediscovery. One must overcome capitalist civilization, which is predatory by nature, unwelcome and unsustainable, and "lives to suffocate life; and suck life from the world", to put it in the words of the great Ecuadorian philosopher, Bolívar Echeverría. In order to achieve this we must move away from current anthropocentrism towards (socio)biocentrism and vitalism. With its focus on harmony with Nature, with its disapproval of the concept of perpetual accumulation, and with its return to values of use in this regard, Good Living opens doors to alternative ways of life.

To achieve such a radical transformation of civilization, many significant changes need to be made. The de-commercialization of nature is a crucial

first step. In short, Good Living moves away from conventional Western ideas of progress and points towards other ways of perceiving life, paying special attention to Nature.

Good Living: A Democratic Challenge

It is clear, therefore, that Good Living is a plural concept (it would be better to say, “good livings” or “good livings together”) that emerges particularly from indigenous communities, without denying the technological advantages of the modern world or possible contributions or knowledge from other cultures that question other assumptions of the dominant modern world. Respect for the sovereignty of communities, for their methods of production and reproduction, and for their territory will provide space for horizontal exchange and interconnectedness that will finally break away from inherited colonial ways of thinking.

To summarize, this complex task - conceptualized in the Constitution of Montecristi - implies learning by unlearning, and learning and relearning at the same time. It is a task that will demand more consensual democracy and more participation, always upon the basis of respect. Nobody can assume the right to own the truth.

Rural Rebels and Useless Airports: La ZAD – Europe’s largest Postcapitalist land occupation. Zad.nadir.org

October 2012, Notre dames des Landes, France.

Chris leans forward, her long fingers play with the dial of the car radio “I’m trying to find 107.7 FM” ... a burst of Classical music, a fragment of cheesy pop. “ Ah! Here we go! I think I’ve got it?” The plastic pitch of a corporate jingle pierces the speakers: “Radio Vinci Autoroute: This is the weather forecast for the west central region...happy driving to you all. Traffic info next.” Chris smiles.

The narrow winding road is lined with thick hedgerows. Out of the darkness the ghostly outline of an owl cuts across our headlights. We dip down into a wooded valley, the radio signal starts to splinter. The well-spoken female voice fractures into static, words tune in and out and then another kind of sound weaves itself into the airwaves. We rise out of the wood onto a plateau, the rogue signal gets clearer, for a while two disturbingly different voices scramble together – the slick manicured predictable sounds of Radio Vinci wrestles with something much more alive, something rawer – a fleshier frequency.

“ The cops have left the Zone for the night...good riddance... Yeah! Keep it up everyone!” There is a moment of silence, we hear breathing, then a scream into the microphone “This is Radio Klaxon...Klac Klac Klac! ”We feel her emotion radiate through the radio waves “ It’s nine thirty five.” she laughs and puts a record on, passionate Flamenco guitar pumps into the car.

We have entered La ZAD (Zone A Défendre) – Europe’s largest postcapitalist protest camp – a kind of rural occupy on the eastern edge of Brittany, half and hour’s drive from the city of Nantes. Like a rebel constellation spread across 4000 acres of forest, farmland and marshes, it takes the form of old squatted farms and fields, DIY strawbale houses, upcycled sheds, theatres and bars cobbled from industrial pallets, hobbit like round houses, cute cabins built with the worlds waste, huts perched frighteningly high in trees and a multitude of other disobedient architectural fantasies. La ZAD has been a laboratory for ways of living despite capitalism since the 2009 French Climate Camp. At the camp activists and locals put together a call for people to come and live on the Zone to protect it. Now you can find illegal goat herds and organic bakeries, bike workshops and bee hives, working farms and communal kitchens, a micro brewery, a mobile library, and even a pirate radio station: Radio Klaxon. Emitting from a secret location somewhere in the Zone, the station hijacks the airwaves of “Radio Vinci Autoroute” the traffic information channel run byVinci for its private network of French motorways. The world’s largest multinational construction firm, builders of nuclear power stations, African uranium mines, oil pipelines, motorways, car parks and the

infrastructure of hyper capitalism everywhere, Vinci also happen to be the company commissioned by the French government to cover this landscape in concrete and open Nantes new airport (it already has one) by 2017. Well that's the plan.

The irony of this chequered land of tiny fields framed by miles of rich hedgerows, is that unlike the rest of France, it escaped the regrouping process of the 60's which annihilated the ancient field patterns to open up large tracts of land to industrial agriculture. If the original airport plans, designed to host Concorde, had succeeded this land would have been under tarmac by 1985, luckily it was never built and so the old field patterns remain, as do the faded painted signs that date from the first protests 40 years ago, placed along the side of the road by local farmers declaring: "NON A L'AEROPORT".

Our car pulls into "la vache rit" a temporary HQ housed in a giant barn that belongs to one of dozen local farmers who has refused to sell their land to the state. A mural on the façade shows a plane disguised as a bale of hay with an indignant farmer, pitchfork in hand, shouting up at it: "you 'aint going to con us !" Inside the barn, hundreds of people mill around, there are grey haired pensioners, farmers in muddy overalls, a sprinkling of hippies, folk in black hoodies adorned with headtorches and more than a handful of dogs. Food is being cooked and people are browsing the largest "free shop" I've ever seen (a space where there is no monetary exchange). Long tables bend under piles of clothes all sorted neatly and signposted: jumpers, trousers, rain jackets, boots (with boxes for different shoe sizes) there is even a box marked dirty socks under one filled with dry ones. Locals from the nearby village of Notre-Dames-des-Landes wash the socks regularly. Another table has mountains of medical supplies whilst the kitchen is drowning in pasta. Supporters from the four corners of France have donated all this material over last week since the evictions began.

On the 16th of October 1200 riot police overran La ZAD. What had been a state free autonomous zone for 3 years was transformed within a few hours into a militarised sector. Road blocks sealed the area, Guard Mobiles (military

mobile gendarme units) swarmed everywhere and bulldozers groaned across the fields. Despite resistance from the Zadists within two days the state had destroyed 9 of the 12 of the squatted spaces. On one of the days, 250 rounds of tear gas were fired into the market garden, seemingly to contaminate the vegetables that until that moment had fed over 100 Zadists every week. A principle of war is of course: cut off the supplies.

In the afternoon lorries guarded by convoys of riot vans carried away every sign of habitation - every lump of rubble or shard of broken furniture, smashed crockery or child's toy – everything – nothing remained but mud and the scars of bulldozer tracks. This act of erasure was not only to make sure that the wreckage would not be used to rebuild the houses, but more importantly to wipe out all traces of history. Ruins hold memories and stories; and a principle of resistance is that stories stoke struggle.

"The movement is finished"... the local representative of the ministry of interior Patrick Lapouze told the press "For two years... it's been a lawless zone. I can't even go there without police protection and when I go I get stones raining down on my car." Sounding more like a wild west Sheriff than a twenty first century civil servant, he continued: "We are going to stop them returning...When there are only 150 of them entrenched in a barn, they won't last long!" Raising the stakes somewhat he ends his statement: "If the République is unable to reclaim this area, then we should be worried for the République." As these words left his lips the images of an elderly woman collecting teargas canisters from a vegetable garden, ancient farmhouses being torn down and farmers pushed around by riot police were circulating across the country and seemed to be touching a nerve.

The airport is the pet project of ex mayor of Nantes, now prime minister – Jean marc Ayrault. Nick named "L' Ayraultporc" (a brilliant play on words merging airport and pig) his ratings had already hit record bottom before all this and now it seems his megalomaniac vision, might be a bigger thorn in his side than he ever imagined.

Ayrault has promoted the project as a “green” airport. It is planned to have living roofs covered in plants, the two runways have been designed to minimise taxiing to save on CO2 emissions and an organic community supported box scheme is meant to feed its employees. Next year Nantes will celebrate its latest award: European Green City 2013. To call this double speak is generous. According to a recent report a hundred million people will die of climate driven deaths over the next eighteen years. 80 percent of the slaughtered will be in countries with lower emissions. The Climate Catastrophe is no just a threat to our ecosystems and the species we share the biosphere with, it’s a violent war on the poor. A war whose weapons are built out of steel and concrete, tarmac and plastic, a war with a ticking methane bomb hiding under the artic. Waged by the logic of growth and disguised as everyday life according to capitalism, climate change is the war that could end all wars and all life with it. Calling an airport green is as cynical as calling a concentration camp humane. Perhaps in the future if we are lucky t have one, descendents will contemplate the ruins of airports as we do the sites of 18th century slave markets and wonder how a culture could have committed such barbarity so openly.

I’m fast asleep in the Cent Chenes (one hundred oaks). For three years people from postcapitalist movements across Europe have made their way here to build alternative lives and lay a new geography over the cartography of capitalism. There is a delicious panoply of new place names, including: La Bellishrut, Pinky, La Saulce, Phar Wezt, No Name, La cabane des filles (the girl’s cabin) and the mythical Le Sabot (the clog) named for its reference to peasant life as well as the fact that it is the root of the word Sabotage, which literally means to throw your clog into the gears of the machine.

Little do I know, as I dream of police dogs devouring stray cats, that Hurricane Sandy has just hit Haiti and is on its way to New York. Last time I was here in this beautiful strawbale home made entirely from the waste of the world it had a working bakery (supplying man ZADISTS and neighbours with daily organic Bread) and an abundant Permaculture garden. With the threat of expulsion the baker moved his oven to a safer (legal) space nearby

and the other inhabitants including Katell, who teaches in the local primary school, took everything of value to the safe house. Now Les Cent Chenes is a ghost of what it was and has been handed over as a collective sleeping space for the activists that have streamed in over the last days, from across the country and abroad, to put their bodies in the way of the evictions. We sleep here to be at hand when the police arrive at the Le Sabot nearby, which is still holding out.

Le Sabot is the market garden now contaminated by CS gas. It was born in the spring of 2011, when over a thousand people armed with spades and seeds coordinated by the international radical young farmers movement Reclaim The Fields, occupied a couple of acres of land in the centre of the Zone and overnight turned it into a functioning vegetable farm. It has its own two-roomed cabin, a polytunnel, solar shower and now a ramshackle penthouse on the roof, to climb onto in case of expulsion. Merging resistance and tangible alternatives, Le Sabot reflects the postcapitalist politics of refusing to separate critique and construction, the yes and the no.

I spend the day with Ishmel an art activist and one of the founders of the French Clown Army. His home La Bellishrut was burnt to the ground last week. "How come you're still smiling?" I ask as we walk through the dense network of green lanes that joins up the dots of this rebel constellation. "I don't care about material things, when we build something we know it won't be forever." We build barricades until sunset. Ishmel has managed to get hold of the old set that the Nantes Opera House were throwing away, it happens to be from an opera about the holocaust. The massive wooden panels make perfectly surreal barricading material.

Since the evictions began the art of building barricades has taken over everyday life here. Everywhere you go there are little teams busy hauling materials across fields to erect another barricade. The idea is to slow the advance of the authorities, who have named their operation "Cesar" (Caesar), perhaps a reference to Obelix and Asterix's resistant gallic village. The police have taken the weekend off and so barricade building takes place unhindered. Now there are ones rising on the main roads as well as the green

lanes. The multiplicity of different barricades reflects the different cultures at La Zad. Those living in tree houses in the Rohanne Forest have asked people not to cut living trees to make them, whilst in another part of the Zone a team of chainsaw wielding activists are tacking down oak trees and tangling steel rope in them. On one crossroads there are at least 20 barricades. There are huge hay rounds with cans of petrol beside them ready to set alight when the police attack, there is a steel wall of sitex – Anti squatting panels normally placed on doors and windows of empty houses –carefully welded together and one made from dozens of bamboo poles sticking out of the tarmac decorated with bicycle wheels. In the middle of it all there is makeshift kitchen with its mobile pizza oven made from an oil drum.

An affinity group armed with cordless angle grinders and pick axes, have been working day and night to cut out giant trenches in the roads - in some cases several metres wide and deeper than a standing adult. Ishmel tells me that yesterday road agency workers came to mend one of the smaller trenches (not surrounded by barricades). People talked to the workers, trying to persuade them to turn around and not do the dirty work of Vinci. Despite having their boss on the phone coercing them to keep going, they eventually turned around and left the hole in the road. One of the workers later said “ What troubled me most was that I’m from around here and (clearing the barricades to allow the police to circulate) feels a bit like I was helping demolish my neighbours house.”There have also been stories of local police officers that refused to join the operation.

The crisp autumn sky swarms with stars. A full moon throws shadows of gnarly oak trees across the fields. We end the evening in Le Sabot, dozens of us sitting around the wood burning Agar to eat a delicious Dauphinoise (a hot pot of potatoes and garlic) garnished with freshly picked Cepp mushrooms. Radio Klaxon plays in the background as always: “We have some news: 15 more cop vans have been spotted on the motorway driving in this direction”. There are already 30 parked up for the night in the aptly named Disco Paradiso nearby, it seems the second wave of “operation Ceasar” may well hit tomorrow. Laura, who has been on walky-talky all day to coordinate the defence, picks up a piece of chalk and on the blackboard

which used to be where the dates for planting and harvesting crops were written up; she scrawls angrily: NON! (NO).

It's 6am. We walk through the thick morning mist. Nebulous silhouettes appear out of nowhere passing us on the lane, people are calmly making their way to the barricades. We carry a small radio, the finger tapping beat of the Latino hip hop group Cypress Hill keeps us awake: "When the shit goes down you better be ready!" Coffee is served in Le Sabot. Laura is glued to her walky-talky. Gweno, ties his T-shirt around his head to make a DIY balaclava through which you can still see his cheeky smiling eyes. He climbs over the first barricade, in which Ishmel planted bunches of flowers last night and nails a large sign to a tree opposite: Zone of Struggle: Here the people command and the government obeys. It's a phrase from the Zapatista autonomous indigenous communities in Chiapas. Messages of solidarity have been sent from Chiapas and many of the activists here feel a strong link to the masked rebels who since 1994 have built zones free of the state and capitalism in the jungles of southern Mexico. Many of the Zadists also wear masks during actions, to resist being identified by the police, but also perhaps, to be in tune with the spirit of Zapatismo, where a masks both hides you and makes you more visible and where being nobody and yet everybody is a source of freedom.

"They are coming!" Laura shouts! The cabin empties except for Marie, grey haired and in her sixties, who continues cooking un phased by the news of attack. Through the mist the glint of dozens of riot shields can be seen advancing down the lane towards Le Sabot. Time speeds up: the barricade is set alight, huge flames cut through the dawn light, we hear the sharp crack of tear gas canisters being shot at us, rotten vegetables, paint bombs and stones arc into the sky. I see Gwen running through the field holding one of the shields he has lovingly made: "Be careful you are walking on our beatroot," it says on it. For a moment we can't tell what is CS gas and what is morning mist, then our skin begins to scream in pain, Ishmel passes us lemon juice. The boom of concussion grenades being fired several kilometres away thunders across the plateau, Radio Klaxon tells us that they have attacked the forest simultaneously and are trying to take people out of the trees.

It takes several hours for the police to get through the barricades at le Sabot, by the time they arrive in the garden most of us have dissolved into the landscape. A few people remain on the roof of the cabin and Marie continues to cook inside. "You will never get rid of us" a woman in a pink bandana shouts from the roof "we will be back and we will plant even more vegetables!"

We hear the sound of the samba band in the distance. We follow the rhythm to try and meet up with it, weaving through fields and hedgerows to avoid the roaming riot police. We pass through a field of high corn, several tractors and a huge harvesting machines are ploughing through it. For a minute the image of normal agricultural life taking place a few hundred metres from burning barricades and flying rubber bullets seems incongruous, but then we see that it's Sylvain Fresneau driving the machine. Fresneau is one of the 100 local farmers who

are due to be expropriated. He has refused to be bought off by the state. On the lane next to his field there are a thirty tractors flying the Confederation Paysan flag (Independent peasants union) backed up against a line of riot police. The tractors were meant to have reached Le Sabot in solidarity, but got blocked here. It seems however that they have at least managed to allow Fresneau to harvest his silage. For Fresneau to simply do his everyday job on this land is an act of resistance.

We finally meet up with the samba activists. They have marched across the fields to the side of the Zone where bulldozers are clearing barricades off the roads and the relics of rural rioting litter the tarmac. We follow the band into the nearby forest where they play under the tree houses, the police haven't got here yet. Like a nimble tree sprite Natasha glides down from her platform. Rolls of rope and jangling karabiners hang from her climbing harness. Someone on the ground below has just picked a mushroom and is wondering what species it is. A professional botanist, Natasha immediately identifies it: "it's a Russule - super tasty!" she declares before climbing gracefully back up into her towering tree.

More than anyone she is aware of how ecosystems are networks of complementary relationships, constantly in the process of becoming more complex and diverse. She understands the unity in diversity that makes up the rich interdependent webs of life within this forest and is horrified by the cultural vacuum that wants to annihilate it. There have been similar cultures, cultures out of touch with their ecologies and sticking to entrenched beliefs. They all wrecked their life support systems and eventually collapsed. Robbing the future to pay the present was the hallmark of every civilisation whose ruins now scatter the deserts.

The government has said they want to "cleanse" La Zad before November 2012, so that they can begin the archaeological surveys and ecosystems services swaps. By law the headlands of all watershed should be protected and for every wetlands destroyed two have to be created elsewhere. Vinci however, is trying to challenge these laws in court, the verdict will be heard next month. If the ecosystems services project goes ahead it plans to move newts from twelve marshes to a new habitat. It's the twisted logic of capitalism that thinks that you can swap one ecosystem for another, a market mindset where everything has become a commodity – a thing devoid of context. It's the final gasps of a culture that has forgotten that our world is made up of relationships and not things.

The state assumed that by destroying the Zadists houses and gardens they would demoralise the movement. They thought it would collapse when its material base had been removed. But quite the opposite has happened. "Our home is not the cob walls and hay bails, the bricks and mortar," says Sara, whose house was raised to the ground last week, "but the land and the neighbours and its those connections that have been strengthened during the evictions". It's not just the friendships between activists on the barricades but also the complex relationships between the Zadists, the locals and farmers that have evolved. "It's been a roller coaster over the years," Sara continues. "There have been strong moments of togetherness but many of

mutual misunderstanding and mistrust. There are some huge ideological differences between us “the squatters” and the folk at ACIPA (The anti-airport NGO made up of local farmers and residents) but since the evictions, new levels of mutual aid and support have emerged that were once thought impossible.” Not only did Sylvain Frenau’s open his barn as an HQ for everybody, but the ACIPA has set up a daily meeting point to bring newcomers into the Zone to resist the evictions, farmers and locals have stood as human shields between the masked activists and the riot police, whilst other have helped build barricades with their tractors and loaned out chain saws. The French state and media has tried undermine exactly this kind of sharing and support over the years by labelling the “squatters” as members of the “Ultragauche” (the ultra leftists).

A mythical term invented by a neurotic government Les Utragauche has been used to criminalise anticapitalist antiauthoritarian movements and throw the shadow of terrorism on to anyone influenced by the so called: “insurrectionist sect” that wrote the now infamous, and according to right wing U.S TV anchor Glen Beck “evil” book - The Coming Insurrection. The term is a weapon of repression used to divide the “good protesters” from the “bad” and to prevent diverse movements arising. What the government can’t control is a movement where farmers ploughing and planting monocultures are rebelling side by side with Permaculturists who practice no dig gardening, where older trade unionists sit in meetings with young anarchists who demand an identity beyond work, where libertarian communists teach pensioners how to forage wild foods and Anti civilisation vegans are lent tools by dairy farmers. It is the dynamic diversity of ecosystems which keeps them strong and resilient to shocks, movements that find unity in diversity are much harder to destroy than houses and forests and the new socialist government knows this.

It’s been three weeks since the evictions began, Le Sabot and Les Cent Chenes have been razed as have many of the other spaces. Two squatted farmhouses are still waiting for eviction papers whilst every time the police tear down the barricades around the Phar Wezt they pop up again like mushrooms – as I write, its tree houses and huge communal kitchen remain intact and people are already rebuilding in hidden nooks and crannies of the Zone. Thanks to the pressure on the government from hunger striking farmers last summer, locals who have refused to sell cannot be evicted until all legal recourses have been exhausted. The trial around the destruction of wetlands is due to end in December.

In many struggles, the moment of eviction tends to be the last great cry after which the movement fades. But quite the opposite has occurred, something in the fight to save La ZAD has resonated with people. The last three weeks have completely transformed this struggle from a relatively local debate into an issue of national importance. Everyone on the ground expected the media to run images of masked youth throwing molotovs (3 in all were thrown!) and to play the “Ultragauche” card which would have scared people away and opened the door to harsher police repression. But this did not happen and instead solidarity began to flow and flow. Support groups sprung up in cities and villages across France. Meetings,

demonstrations and actions erupted from Toulouse to Strasbourg, Brussels to Besançon: Graffiti and banners appeared on dozens of motorway bridges, a clown army invaded the offices of Vinci, thousands marched in Rennes, Nantes and Paris, a go slow blocked commuter traffic into Nantes, Vinci car parks were occupied and made free for motorists, the studios of a national radio programme were invaded and statement read on air, a street theatre pieces married Vinci and the state and the windows of several socialist party HQ's were smashed.

Front pages in the regional and then the national press including Le Monde, began to talk about La ZAD as the “new Larzac”. Beginning in the 1970s the Larzac was a rural area of Southern France where a mass movement brought farmers and activists together against the expansion of a military base. It is seen as an iconic struggle not only due to it linking radically different cultures but also because it won. In 1981 the recently elected socialist president François Mitterrand cancelled the project. To name La ZAD as new Larzac is like a little known rock band being touted as the new Lady Gaga!

The discourse has expanded too. Many now see the choice to build an airport as yet another symptom of a system totally out of touch with reality. It's a choice from another age, an age where climate change and peak oil were not yet threats, an age where the ideology of infinite growth was all that defined progress, an age where people talked about economic crisis rather than the economy as crisis. It seems that what is touching people is the destruction of ways of life that refuse to be part of such an antiquated society. It is the farmer's firm stand, risking everything so that they can continue to produce food from their land that moves us. It is the Zadists' simple lives, lived according to their passions and their needs that gives us glimpses of the future in the present. These things make so much more sense than a new airport built for political ego, corporations and profits. And now the story is no longer just about an airport, but about making the choice to oil the suicide machine wrecking our future or becoming its counter friction and opening new visions of what it means to live.

A year ago, the Zadists put out a call for a day of Reoccupation to take place four weekends following the anticipated evictions. They asked people to come with hammers, planks and pitchforks, to reoccupy the land and build. When they wrote the text little did they realise that the evictions would have transformed La ZAD into a household name. The date has been set for the 17th of November. Every Tuesday for the past three weeks 150 people have packed out a hall in Nantes to plan the reoccupation. There are groups of local architects and carpenters busy designing a meeting house; mass catering kitchens from across Europe are preparing food for thousands; 200 tractors are being mobilised; farmers, artists and activists from the Morbihan are planning a toilet and shower bloc complete with cacapult; a kit house is due to be brought 800 km from Dijon and there are even rumours that someone wants to build a “special” tower in the field where the control tower is planned.

How many people will turn up on the 17th of November no one knows, how many homes and farms will be rebuilt remains a mystery, but what is clear is that this movement is far from being finished, in many ways its has just begun

FOR PART TWO, <http://labofii.wordpress.com/2013/01/18/part-2-of-rural-rebels-and-useless-airports/>

Normalizing Geoengineering as Foreign Aid – by etcgroup

The Artificial Intelligence of Geoengineering, Part 3

Climate Drift: Geoengineers have a problem. Computer modeling suggests that blocking solar radiation in the temperate zone (to preserve Arctic ice or to forestall massive methane releases) could cool the Northern hemisphere but its impact could also drift South, creating severe climatic disruptions by dampening down Asia’s monsoon while drying out Africa’s Sahel. Not a popular proposition.

Now, geoengineers may hope they have a solution. A new study in Nature Climate Change[i] by the UK Government’s Meteorological Office suggests that some form of solar radiation management could mitigate the conventional vicissitudes of nature. According to the report, volcanic eruptions north of the equator in the 20th century either contributed to – or caused – droughts along the African equator and further South. The Met Office guys reason that if the North (home to most volcanoes) were to have another major (and, ultimately inevitable) eruption, drought might be prevented by unleashing counter (artificial) volcanoes below the equator. The sulfuric blasts could even increase precipitation in sub-Saharan Africa, increase biomass growth and benefit regional food security.

To make their point, the authors of the Nature Climate Change study point to Mexico’s 1982 El Chichón eruption that, they fear, created or exacerbated the devastating famine that swept across the Sahel and Ethiopia. Would lives have been saved had geoengineering been available?

Normalization: Geoengineering, then, would no longer be identified as the self-serving gambit of climate-deniers and cringing politicians in the temperate zone, it would be “foreign aid.” This is the geoengineer’s version of mission creep. The once shockingly abnormal thought of manipulating planetary systems becomes normalized as new uses are found.

This is not the first time that geoengineering has been linked to famine relief. It was India's Bihar famine in the late 1960s that occasioned Lyndon Johnson to launch Operation Gromet – a major weather modification exercise. The US Air Force, with India's permission, seeded clouds to encourage rain. It didn't work and food aid had to be rushed in.[ii] But the exercise wasn't wasted. Richard Nixon adopted the idea for the Vietnam War and Operation Popeye tried to flood the Ho Chi Minh trail and drown out North Vietnam's rice paddies. Plowshares into swords?

The political fallout from the American weather experiments was the UN Environmental Modification Treaty (ENMOD) adopted by all major governments at the end of the 1970s. Under this Treaty, signatories are prohibited from geoengineering the planet for military purposes. Is it conceivable that any country or "coalition of the willing" could manipulate planetary systems without military consequences?

Modern history gives many examples of the willingness of some governments to modify the planet to achieve military advantage. In 1980, science historian David Collingridge analyzed two potentially earth-shattering examples of normalization or mission creep where diverse interests cobbled together strategies to keep their research running even when the purpose had evaporated:[iii]

First, World War II's Manhattan Project was an all out US–UK defensive move to counter what was thought to be Nazi Germany's goal to build an atomic bomb.[iv] By the early 1940s, however, British intelligence (not the artificial kind) confirmed that the Germans had abandoned the bomb. The original mission – to build the "unthinkable," solely for defense, morphed into an opportunity to use the bomb offensively against Japan. The desperately abnormal got normalized and, by the mid-1950s, became 'Atoms for Peace.'

Second, in the early 1960s, US fears that the Soviet Union was developing an anti-ballistic missile system (ABM) provoked an emergency move to build MIRV – Multiple Independently targetable Reentry Vehicles (nuclear missiles with multiple warheads).[v] By 1965, however, US intelligence concluded that the Soviet research had been dismantled. Rather than scrap the work, the US tweaked the mission (again, from defense to offence) and pressed on despite Congressional alarm that MIRVs would escalate the arms race. Detecting the US program, the Soviets had no choice but to develop their own MIRVs and the Cold War became immediately more precarious. Once the research ball is rolling, vested industrial and military interests

keep it rolling opportunistically even if the original mission has been lost in the fog of real events.

Big Chill? Contributing to the normalization of geoengineering, Oliver Morton, science editor of *The Economist*, on his personal blog, likes the argument that geoengineering could save Africa from the next Northern volcano.[vi] Morton doesn't deny that the Temperate North may judiciously introduce solar radiation management anyway to protect the Arctic and that, therefore, the South will have to engage in defensive geoengineering to keep Sahelian famine at bay. It's hard to see the sunny side of this for tropical and subtropical countries. Since most of the proposals involve layering the stratosphere with sulfate particles that remain aloft for roughly 2 years, Morton and the geoengineers might spare a little artificial intelligence to figure out what to do if a real or second "inevitable" volcanic eruption overlaps the manufactured kind. How would a triple-whammy of sulphates (a north injection, a south injection and then an unexpected volcanic addition) shift the climate. Would you need to double the artificial injection? How can you then scale back afterwards?

Creepy Missions: The kind of mission creep that could prevent devastating drought in Africa, of course, doesn't seem such a bad idea. Sort of "swords into ploughshares." Industrialized countries, after all, have an obligation to prevent famine. If another volcano blows somewhere along the North Pacific rim, foreign aid experts should either be better ready to respond to another Sahelian famine with all the complexities of famine relief operations or, maybe more simply, just deploy a counter (artificial) volcano in the Southern hemisphere and avoid all the trouble of setting up tent camps and supply lines. To be ready, then, scientists should start testing the hardware and running field experiments now. This conveniently lets scientists carry on with their climate engineering research under another name.

Returning to Plan A: The alternative, of course, would be to pull out and dust off the many practical proposals that have been around for decades that would plant trees, push back the Sahara, and support sustainable agricultural strategies in the region. And, if that's not enough in a dire emergency, then make sure there is sufficient food aid. Anchoring and strengthening African soils and supporting African farmers lacks the drama of 20 km high pipes blowing sulfates into the stratosphere or fleets of military jets spreading sulfuric acid vapor, but it has the advantage of taking actions now that can have an immediate positive impact whether or not a volcano erupts, while simultaneously contributing to long-term food security. And, unlike in

geoengineering, planting trees and growing crops has a low downside. If the foreign aid agencies of industrialized countries aren't capable of doing the obvious and the easy then they can't be trusted with techno-fixes that have unpredictable implications. According to the UK MET office Solar radiation management that increases rainfall in the Sahel or sprays sea salt to whiten clouds off the Namibian coast could dry up Northeast Brazil. Then, foreign aid's geoengineers would have to deploy in the Amazon with the risk of impacting Asia. This could begin a marvelous – and permanent – employment opportunity._____

More Green Now! Deep Green Resistance: Strategy to Save the Planet

Derrick Jensen is at it again with his new book, *Deep Green Resistance: Strategy to Save the Planet* (2011), except this time with two co-authors taking the lead. The first is Lierre Keith, author of the book, *The Vegetarian Myth: Food, Justice, and Sustainability* (2009). The second, Aric Mcbay, a previous co-author with Jensen in the book, *What We Leave Behind* (2009) and author of *Peak Oil Survival: Preparation for Life after Gridcrash* (2006) and *Wake: A Collective Manual-in-progress for Outliving Civilization* (www.inthewake.org). Jensen an author of countless books such as *a Culture of Make Believe* (2004), *Endgame* (2006), and his new book *Dreams* (2011). Jensen now takes a more passive role writing the introduction and answering questions at the end of chapters.

Keith and Mcbay seems to pick up and expand on the more militant aspects where Jensen left off in *Endgame*. “The book is about fighting back” to “save the planet” and the book completes its task for proposing a strategy, but whether that strategy resonates and speaks to people is an entirely different story. The book is broken into four sections: resistance, organization, strategy and tactics, and the future. The first and last sections are written primarily by Keith and the second and third by Mcbay.

The first section: resistance, establishes the problems and myths of civilization and goes to some depth in historical currents of resistance in history. Keith has a chapter called “Liberals and Radicals” where she seeks to distinguish the difference between the two and then demonstrates how both can operate in building social movements based on legal remedies, direct action, withdrawal, and spirituality. In this she describes a kind of socialist society she wants to build and what it ought to be like. This analysis is build on a Marxian definition of radical, Keith (p. 62) states, “[b]ut for radicals, society is made up of classes or any groups or castes. In the radical’s understanding, being a member of a group is not an affront. Far from it; identifying

with a group is the first step toward political consciousness and ultimately effective political action.” A Marxist feminist current is carried into a chapter titled a “Culture of Resistance.” Mcbay ends the section with “A Taxonomy of Action.” Mcbay categorizes the different actions, omission and commission, giving a brief history on where they came from and how they functioned.

Organization written entirely by Mcbay, becomes a more technical section in laying out conceptual tools for resistance. This section begins with “The Psychology of Resistance” which lays out different psychological studies and ideas to demonstrate who, how, and how many may typically resist oppressive situations. One interesting notion was “learned helplessness” by Martin Seligman. The section continues to lay out a number of different organizational models and demonstrates how different models benefit certain situations. This is followed by a discussion on decision making, recruitment, and security culture. The French resistance in occupied France and U.S. Army field manuals are a common source of reference.

The third section strategy and tactics lays out a broad plan of attack for a lethal natural environmental movement. This section summarizes military strategy and tactic from a couple U.S. Army field manuals. The strategic and tactical information is then synthesized and related to the successes and failures of different social movements and armed struggle groups. Starting from slave abolition to women suffrage, all the way to Irish Independence, the Weather Underground (WU), and the African National Congress (ANC). Then the concept of “Decisive Ecological Warfare” is deployed to bring the strategic and tactical necessity of underground cells to destroy industrial infrastructure and aboveground groups to support the underground actions while keeping a culture of resistance in mind. These ideas are explained at some depth.

The last section states the six principles of Deep Green Resistance and the need for Decisive Ecological Warfare. This section continues to tell a story of what could be and how, giving an example of these ideas in actions and the difficulties, pleasures, and hardships that could come from attacking the industrial system. And the book ends as many sections do, reminding you that 200 species died today—your inaction is complicit with ecocide.

The book contains a number of interesting ideas and includes a diverse range of material. The authors do well to expose the myths of civilization and to explain military strategy and tactic for dummies—the Hitler assassination diagram was clever. This book provides a common ground, or set of terms, to understand important methods of organization, security, strategy, and tactic. This may be

beneficial to an audience ignorant to the realities of an industrial culture and power. That said, there are some significant shortcomings.

A concentration of concern exist in chapters, “Liberals and Radicals” and “Culture of Resistance.” These chapters seem to lack clarity, explanation, and fail to tie together clear ideas presented in an out of sequence structure. This continues in “Culture of Resistance” with a weak historical genealogical approach to European counter cultures. A further discrepancy is the definition of radical, stated above. This definition of radical appears shortsighted. Radical, stemming from the Latin word *radix*, meaning: root, the Marxian definition does not address the systemic or root issues of industrial civilization. There seems to be contradiction and confusion between the Marxist-feminist society proposed by Keith and the anti-civilization agenda of the book. The explanation of this indigenous friendly, socialist society is one notch deeper than superficial—a difficult image to paint nonetheless.

The culture of resistance and society proposed suffers from a romantic communism. Keith seems naive to power, an accusation she wages correctly against other groups, but her authoritative leftism may have unintended consequences. Keith, referring to spirituality in a “Culture of Resistance” (p.166-7) writes:

A moral code may inscribe obedience to authority throughout society or it may call us to fight injustice; we can find examples of both even in the same religious traditions....We need that new religion to help set the world right, and to nestle each human life in an unbroken circle of individual conscience and longing, communal bonding, connection to the multitude of members of this tribe called carbon....Keith concludes in the “Culture of Resistance” section (p. 190) stating:

The task of a culture of resistance include holding and enforcing community norms of justice, equity, and commitment, and solidarity; encouraging vibrant political discussion and debate; producing cultural products—poems, songs, art—that create a mythic matrix organized around the themes of resistance; building individual character based on courage, resilience, and loyalty. These could be words from a right-wing christian community. The specifics of this culture of resistance are not developed much past the adjectives of the last quote. There is continuous repetition of positive adjectives and little elaboration on how these cultures will develop there “own institutions”—many of that is put on the “Permaculture Wing.” The authoritative leftism thrown around is enough to turn most radicals away and discredit some of her finer points.

This brings up the examples used. Many of these social movements and armed groups are not radical in any deep sense of the word. Despite the accurate criticism placed against Permacultureists, there practice is more radical in many ways to the social movements and

Marxist-Lenninist groups cited. Just because a group uses guns does not mean they are radical. These were points made in the book, but contradiction ensued. The conditions in South Africa are argued by many to be worse now than ever— parts of ANC leadership sold out to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund almost right off the bat. Further, the demands of civil rights and women suffrage were not radical, they were reasonable demands and concessions to be accepted by capitalist society. More to the point, they talk about Members for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), but not once do they talk about the deal the Nigerian government made with MEND for disarmament in exchange for amnesty, 1,500 dollars, and jobs. The leadership took it, and guess what? The leadership sits rich in the city while the foot soldiers still wait for their payments and jobs in a government indoctrination camps. MEND has recovered and has declared to resume attacks on June 2011, but the more complex lessons for strategy, tactic, and hardship are not taught. The authors of DGR did not even talk about the armed groups of Latin America from the 1960s to 1990s. That said, this book is an interesting topic, but spends too much time constructing and describing what the authors think is a perfect society and fails to reconcile accurately the true hardship and shortcomings of armed struggle groups. Then again, the GDR manifesto is \$19.95 new, not to mention \$150-\$500 workshops, so how serious can you take the authors anyway? I recommend this book for nonprofit employees or self-identified student activists. The reading will be interesting no matter who you are, but has a authoritative leftist current that may undo the success of Derrick Jensen's Endgame. By Tiger Attack, October 25, 2011

**UP WITH
TREES**



**DOWN WITH
CAPITALISM**